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Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4389

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 16952

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 XGDS-3
TAGS: PARM, US, UR
SUBJ: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - FINAL SUMMARY AND
COMMENTS

1. REFERENCE STATE 242830, PARAGRAPH TWO. PARAGRAPHS TWO THROUGH FIVE ARE SUMMARY OF STATUS. PARAGRAPHS SIX THROUGH FOURTEEN ARE COMMENTS ON FUTURE COURSE.

2. STATUS SUMMARY FOLLOWS.

3. THERE WERE SIXTEEN TTBT/PNE PLENARY MEETINGS FROM OCTOBER 7 THROUGH NOVEMBER 6, AND SEVERAL RESTRICTED MEETINGS. A WORKING RECESS WAS COMMENCED AFTER THE NOVEMBER 6 MEETING.

4. STATEMENTS OF THE TWO SIDES CAN BE RESOLVED INTO THE FOLLOWING GENERAL THEMES:

(A) THE US STATED GENERAL CRITERIA AND CONCERNS, LAID DOWN IN INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH ANY PNE AGREEMENT MUST REFLECT. THE SOVIETS WERE ASKED IN VARIOUS WAYS HOW THEY PROPOSED TO ACCOMODATE THESE CRITERIA AND CONCERNS. US APPROACH THROUGHOUT WAS COUCHED IN AS POSITIVE AND FORTHCOMING TERMS AS PERMITTED BY INSTRUCTIONS.
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(B) THE US, TAKING NOTE OF SOVIET TECHNICAL ASSESS-
MENT OF YIELDS REQUIRED FOR MOST CONTAINED APPLICATIONS,
PROPOSED AD REFERENDUM THAT CONTAINED PNE APPLICATIONS BE
LIMITED TO YIELDS LESS THAN 100 KT, SUBJECT TO SUITABLE
VERIFICATION PROCEDURES. WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL,
ELEMENTS OF SUCH VERIFICATION, INCLUDING OBSERVERS,
WERE STATED. THE US DID NOT DESCRIBE ANY IDEAS FOR
VERIFICATION OF EXCAVATION PNES.

(E) A BASIC SOVIET VIEW REGARDING PNES WAS THAT
THERE SHOULD BE NO LIMITS ON YIELDS OR NUMBERS. IT
WAS STATED THAT IN THE CASE OF CONTAINED APPLI-
CATIONS MOST NEEDS COULD BE MET BY YIELDS LESS
THAN 100 KT, ALTHOUGH THEY SAY THEY SEE POSSIBLE LONG
TERM INTEREST IN LARGER YIELDS. MOST EXCAVATION NEEDS
COULD BE MET BY GROUP AGGREGATE YIELDS LESS THAN
1,000 KT AND THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL EXPLOSIONS OF
YIELDS ABOVE 150 KT WOULD NOT BE LARGE. NO FORMAL
COMMITMENT TO THESE STATEMENTS WAS MADE.

(D) THE SOVIET VIEW OF VERIFICATION PROCEDURES
TO SATISFY ARTICLE III OF THE TTBT WAS DESCRIBED. THE
ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WERE DEPENDENCE ON NATIONAL TECHNICAL
MEANS, AUGMENTED BY INFORMATION EXCHANGES DEPENDING ON
YEILD AND COIRCUMSTANCE WITH THE KIND AND AMOUNT OF
INFORMATION SUPPLIED TO BE DETERMINED BY THE COUNTRY
CARRYING OUT THE EXPLOSION. SOVIET VIEWS ARE
CONTAINED IN STATEMENT BY SAFRONOV (PNE MESSAGE
FORTY-FOUR).

(E) A MAJOR EMPHASIS OF THE SOVIETS WAS ON A
JOINT COOPERATIVE PNE AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INVOLVE
EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION AND OF SCIENTISTS AND OTHER
PERSONNEL ON A BASIS OF RECIPROCITY. A SEPARATE SECTION
WOULD SPECIFY VERIFICATION PROCEDURES TO SATISFY
ARTICLE III OF TTBT AS INDICATED IN (D) ABOVE. HOWEVER,
EXCHANGE OF PERSONNEL ("REPRESENTATIVES") IN PROJECTS
WOULD, IT WAS CLAIMED, REINFORCE VERIFICATION. SOVIET
OUTLINE OF JOINT COOPERATIVE PNE PROPOSAL IS
CONTAINED IN PNE MESSAGE THIRTY-FOUR. DELEGATION
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COMMENTS ARE CONTAINED IN PNE MESSAGE THIRTY-NINE.

5. MOROKHOV IN STATEMENTS ON NOVEMBER 5 AND 6
STATED THAT US AND SOVIETS WERE FAR APART IN THEIR
RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, BUT THAT THEY LOOKED FORWARD TO
RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS. THEY DO NOT WANT ANY
CONSTRAINTS ON NUMBERS OR YIELDS OF EXPLOSIONS.
THEY SEE NO BASIS FOR CONSIDERING CONTAINED AND

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EXCAVATION APPLICATIONS AS SEPARATE CATEGORIES. THEY WANT US VIEWS ON CRATERING EXPLOSIONS. THEY WERE UNWILLING TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC PROVISIONS FOR CONTAINED PNES ONLY. IT IS ONLY BY CONSIDERATION OF A COMPLETE PACKAGE THAT AN AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED.

6. COMMENTS ON FUTURE COURSE FOLLOW.

7. IN OUR JUDGMENT, PROGRESS CAN BE MADE TOWARD ESTABLISHING A PNE AGREEMENT.

8. IN ORDER TO MOVE AHEAD, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR THE US TO MAKE A BEGINNING ON PRESENTATION OF THE ELEMENTS OF A VERIFICATION PACKAGE WHICH WOULD ENCOMPASS CONTAINED AND EXCAVATION APPLICATIONS.

9. THE US NEEDS TO DEVELOP A BASIS FOR DISCUSSING THE INTERRELATED ISSUES LINKING THE LTBT, EXCAVATION PNE PROJECTS, AND THE VERIFICATION OF EXCAVATION PNE PROJECTS. IF IT SHOULD BE THE US VIEW THAT COMPLIANCE WITH THE LTBT WILL, IN PRACTICAL EFFECT, RULE OUT MOST EXCAVATION PROJECTS AND IF THE US SHOULD BE UNWILLING TO AGREE TO AN ACCOMMODATION FOR EXCAVATION PROJECTS, THE SOVIETS WOULD WITHOUT ANY DOUBT STRONLY OPPOSE THIS VIEW INITIALLY. WE AR NOT ABLE TO OFFER A MEANINGFUL CONJECTURE ON WHAT THEIR FINAL POSITION MIGHT BE.

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10. SIGNIFICANT MOVEMENT BY THE SOVIETS FROM THIER PRESENT VERIFICATION POSITION WILL DEPEND ON THEIR ASSESSMENT OF A TOTAL US VERIFICATION PACKAGE. HOWEVER, THE SOVIET POSITION HAS NOT BEEN COUCHED IN ABSOLUTE OR RIGID TERMS AND THERE ARE AREAS WHERE ONE CAN FORESEE THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGE, INCLUDING THE FOLLOWING:

(Q) SOVIET INTEREST IN HIGH-YIELD CONTAINED PNE APPLICATIONS APPEARS LONG RANGE AND EVEN VISIONARY IN SOME ASPECTS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT (PERHAPS ON AN INTERIM BASIS) A YEILD LIMIT ON CONTAINED APPLICATIONS. IF SO, MOST PROBABLY THEY WOULD START BY INSISTING THAT THE TTBT YIELD THRESHOLD APPLY.

(B) THE POSSIBILITY OF A QUOTA ON EXCAVATION EVENTS ABOVE THE THRESHOLD SHOULD NOT BE RULED OUT.

(C) IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING, IN THE CONTEXT OF A YIELD LIMIT ON CONTAINED PNES, TO ACCEPT A REQUIREMENT FOR THE EXCHANGE OF SPECIFIED INFORMATION ABOVE SOME INTERMEDIATE YIELD (SAY 75 KT).

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11. THERE IS INSUFFICIENT BASIS AT THIS TIME TO MAKE A MEANINGFUL CONJECTURE ON HOW THE SOVIETS MIGHT FINALLY COME OUT ON THE OBSERVER QUESTION. THEY SAY THEY ARE WILLING TO LISTEN TO OUR IDEAS ABOUT OBSERVER FUNCTIONS, BUT THAT THEY WILL NOT DISCUSS THIS SUBJECT EXCPET IN CONTEXT OF A JOINT COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT.

12. THE SOVIETS HAVE CLEARLY STATED THAT ONE OF THEIR PRIMARY PURPOSES IS ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT PNE COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT. THEIR APPROACH TO VERIFICATION IS SURELY DESIGNED IN PART TO ENCOURAGE THE US TO CONSIDER AND ACCEPT SUCH AN AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET IDEAS ARE A BARE SKETCH, AND FULL OF DEFECTS, THE US SHOULD EXAMINE THEM CAREFULLY FOR ANY ELEMENTS OF COOPERATION, BOTH SHORT AND LONG TERM, WHICH COULD BE OF INTEREST TO US. ANY POSITIVE POSITION ON COOPERATION COULD POSSIBLY HELP GAIN CONCESSIONS ON VERIFICATION ISSUES.

13. THE US WILL NEED TO ESTABLISH A BASIS FOR

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DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A PNE AGREEMENT AND THE NPT. CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD BE REDUCED TO AN EFFORT TO INDUCE THE SOVIETS TO:

(A) ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT SOME LIMITATIONS CAN BE IMPOSED ON PNES WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES TO THE NPT IF THOSE LIMITATIONS ARE ALSO ACCEPTED BY THE US AND USSR AND IF THOSE LIMITATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL COMPLEMENTS TO VERIFICATION ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSURE THE INTEGRITY OF NUCLEAR WEAPON CONTROL;

(B) ACCEPT THE PROPOSTIONS THAT ANY PNE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATED NOW SHOULD ACKNOWLEDGE THE PRIVILEDGED STATUS UNDER ARTICLE V OF NPT PARTIES WITHOUT FORE-CLOSING THE POSSIBILITY OF AGREEMENT ON PROVISION OF PNE SERVICES TO NON-PARTIES; AND

(C) AVOID ANY FORM OF PNE "ADVERTISING" LANGUAGE IN A PNE AGREEMENT.

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14. THERE IS INSUFFICIENT BASIS TO CONCLUDE WHETHER OR NOT SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED.

15. THE PRESENT SOVIET DELEGATION IS HEAVILY LOADED WITH INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE COMMITTED TO PNES; AND EVENTUAL REALIZATION OF A WELL-BALANCED AGREEMENT MAY DEPEND UPON ENGAGEMENT OF THE POLITICAL LEVEL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IN NEGOTIATIONS.
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